

VENEZUELA, 1896-1899.

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ment desire should be excluded from the proposed submission to arbitration, should be propounded." Lord Salisbury assented so far as to telegraph, on the same day, to Sir Julian Pauncefote: "I have agreed with the United States' Ambassador that, in principle, the matter may be discussed between the United States Government (acting as the friend of Venezuela) and your Excellency." But, a few days later (March 6), the British Premier and Foreign Secretary gave a broader range to the discussion, by recalling a correspondence that had taken place in the spring of 1895, between the then American Secretary of State, Mr. Gresham, and the British Ambassador, in contemplation of a general system of international arbitration for the adjustment of disputes between the two governments. Reviving that project, Lord Salisbury submitted the heads of a general arbitration treaty between the United States and Great Britain, which became a subject of discussion for some weeks, without offering much promise of providing for the settlement of the Venezuela dispute. In May, the correspondence returned to the latter subject more definitely, Lord Salisbury writing (May 22):

"From the first our objection has been to subject to the decision of an Arbitrator, who, in the last resort, must, of necessity, be a foreigner, the rights of British colonists who have settled in territory which they had every ground for believing to be British, and whose careers would be broken, and their fortunes possibly ruined, by a decision that the territory on which they have settled was subject to the Venezuelan Republic. At the same time, we are very conscious that the dispute between ourselves and the Republic of Venezuela affects a large portion of land which is not under settlement, and which could be disposed of without any injustice to any portion of the colonial population. We are very willing that the territory which is comprised within this definition should be subjected to the results of an arbitration, even though some portion of it should be found to fall within the Schombergk line." He proposed, accordingly, the creation of a commission of four persons, for the determination of the questions of fact involved, on whose report the two governments of Great Britain and Venezuela should endeavor to agree on a boundary line; failing which agreement, a tribunal of arbitration should fix the line, on the basis of facts reported by the Commission. "Provided always that in fixing such line the Tribunal shall not have power to include as the territory of Venezuela any territory which was bona fide occupied by subjects of Great Britain on the 1st January, 1887, or as the territory of Great Britain any territory bona fide occupied by Venezuelans at the same date."

Objections to this proposal, especially to its final stipulation, were raised by the government of the United States, and the negotiation looked unpromising again for a time; but at length, on the 13th of July, Mr. Olney made a suggestion which happily solved the one difficulty that had been, from the beginning, a bar to agreement between the two governments. "Can it be assumed," he asked, in a letter of that date, "that Her Majesty's Government would submit to unrestricted arbitration the whole of the territory in dispute, provided it be a rule of the arbitration, embodied in the arbitral agreement, that

territory which has been in the exclusive, notorious, and actual use and occupation of either party for even two generations, or say for sixty years, shall be held by the arbitrators to be the territory of such party? In other words, will Her Majesty's Government assent to unrestricted arbitration of all the territory in controversy, with the period for the acquisition of title by prescription fixed by agreement of the parties in advance at sixty years?" Lord Salisbury assented to the principle thus suggested, but proposed a shorter term of occupation than sixty years. Finally the term of fifty years was accepted on both sides, and from that point the arrangement of a Treaty of Arbitration between Great Britain and Venezuela went smoothly on.

The good news that England and America were practically at the end of their dispute was proclaimed by Lord Salisbury, on the 9th of November, in a speech at the Lord Mayor's banquet, in London, when he said: "You are aware that in the discussion had with the United States on behalf of their friends in Venezuela, our question has not been whether there should be arbitration, but whether arbitration should have unrestricted application; and we have always claimed that those who, apart from historic right, had the right which attaches to established settlements, should be excluded from arbitration. Our difficulty for months has been to define the settled districts; and the solution has, I think, come from the suggestion of the government of the United States, that we should treat our colonial empire as we treat individuals; that the same lapse of time which protects the latter in civic life from having their title questioned, should similarly protect an English colony; but, beyond that, when a lapse could not be claimed, there should be an examination of title, and all the equity demanded in regard thereto should be granted. I do not believe I am using unduly sanguine words when I declare my belief that this has brought the controversy to an end."

On the 10th of November, the Secretary of the United States Commission appointed to investigate the disputed boundary published the following: "The statements of Lord Salisbury, as reported in the morning papers, make it probable that the boundary dispute now pending between Great Britain and Venezuela will be settled by arbitration at an early day. Under the circumstances the Commission, while continuing its deliberations in the preparation and orderly arrangement of many valuable maps, reports, and documents, which have been procured and used in the course of its labors, does not propose to formulate any decision for the present of the matters subject to its examination. It will continue its sessions from time to time, but with the hope and expectation that a friendly and just settlement of all pending differences between the nations interested will make any final decision on its part unnecessary." This hope was substantially realized a few days later, when a convention embodying the agreement of the United States and Great Britain was signed by Secretary Olney and the British Ambassador, Sir Julian Pauncefote. The agreement was carried to its next stage on the 2d of February, 1897, when a treaty between Great Britain and the United States of Venezuela was signed at Washington, which provided as follows:

"Art. I. An Arbitral Tribunal shall be im-